

# THE PETRAEUS PLAYBOOK



Connecting the dots behind RCMP violence on Wet'suwet'en territory






This comic pulls heavily from research done by **Na'Moks** (Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief), **Kai Nagata** (Dogwood BC's communication director), & allies.

Their research was presented at the third annual Peace and Unity Summit for Wet'suwet'en and Gitksan hereditary chiefs, elders, land defenders, & allies held in Smithers, BC, in August 2023.

You can find Kai's presentation & a panel discussion on youtube: "KKR, Coastal GasLink and David Petraeus" posted by Dogwood. Other sources used for this comic are listed at the end.

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This is the Wedzin Kwa river,  
part of the sacred headwaters of  
the Wet'suwet'en Nation.

Massive energy corporations are  
devastating the land and river with  
construction of the Coastal GasLink pipeline.

The Wet'suwet'en have been resisting  
colonial Canadian and corporate violence  
for 150 years.

Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs & many  
community members oppose the construction  
of this pipeline that threatens to cut through  
their *yintah* (territory), which sustains life  
for the people and their co-inhabitants.



Throughout construction of the CGL pipeline, the RCMP's special unit C-IRG (Community-Industry Response Group) has surveilled and raided land defenders with internationally-condemned abuses of power.

(And Canada wants a seat on the UN Human Rights Council?)



C-IRG is getting a fancy new name:  
≡ CRU ≡  
[Critical Response Unit]

The harassment and intimidation is exactly the kind of violence designed to drive us from our homelands.

Sleydo' Molly Wickham  
Gidimt'en checkpoint  
spokesperson



The C-IRG/CRU is a boots-on-the-ground paramilitary force that helps industry enforce injunctions, facilitated by the Canadian legal system.



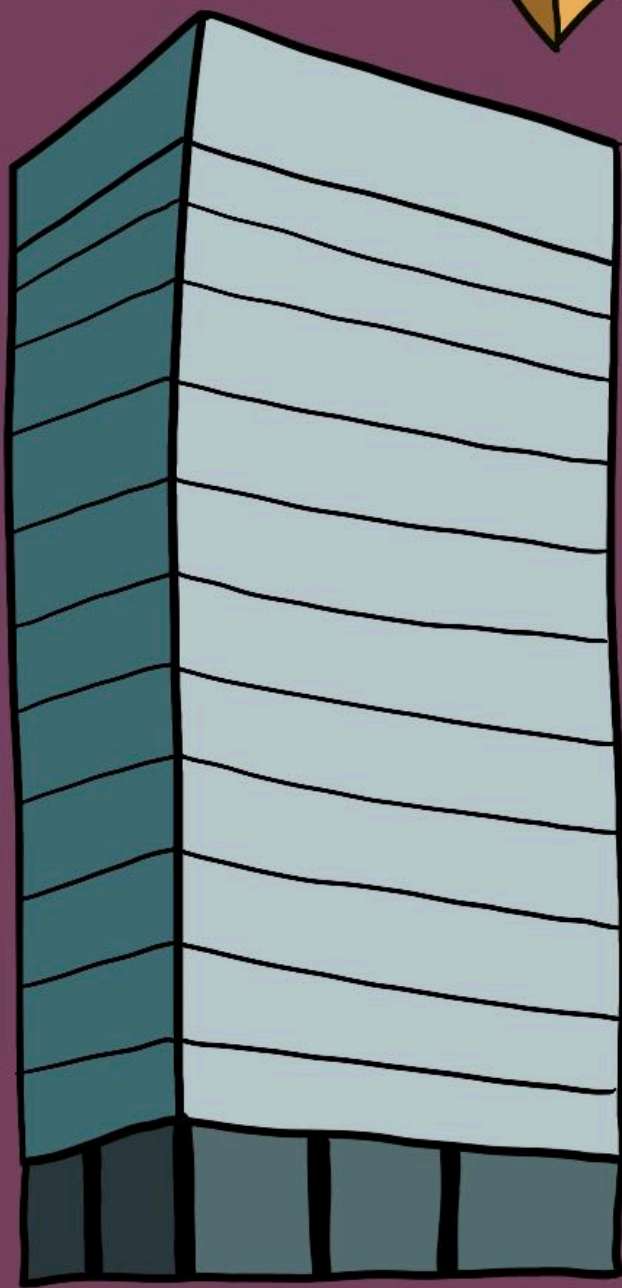
But they're not the masterminds of this operation...



Land defenders have uncovered powerful connections between the multi-pronged attack on Wet'suwet'en resistance and

U.S. counter-insurgency tactics

used across borders.



This comic pulls back the curtain on **KKR**, a huge private equity firm that owns a majority stake in Coastal GasLink...



...and **David Petraeus**, one of the firm's partners.



# WHO IS THIS GUY?

Before his role as KKR partner,

## DAVID PETRAEUS

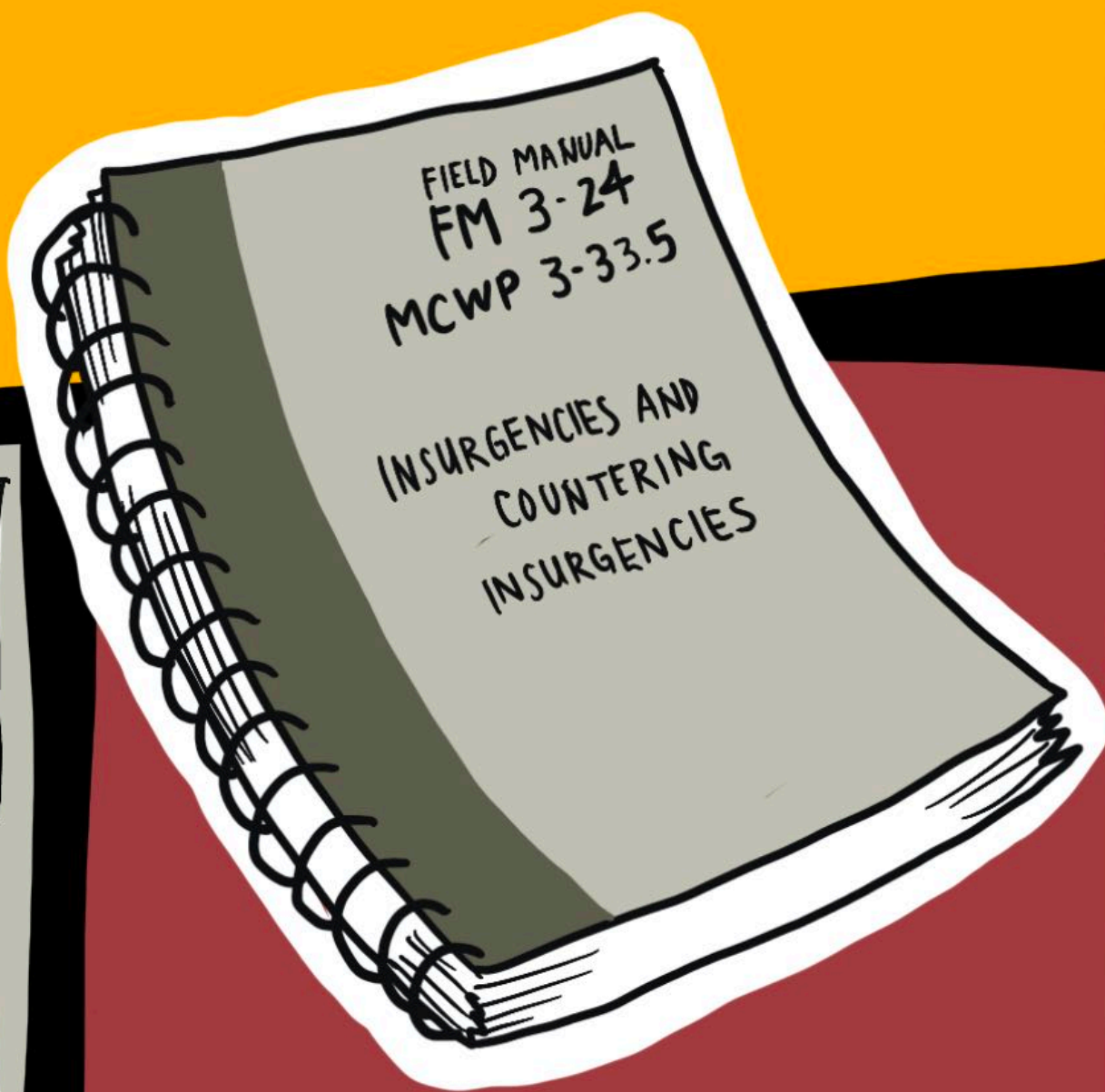
served for 37 years in the U.S.

Army & became a four-star

General (the highest rank for an officer).



He was the top U.S. Commander  
Iraq ('07-08) and Afghanistan ('10-'11).



Petraeus was director of the CIA  
from 2011-2012 before a scandal  
forced him to resign.



(He had an  
affair with  
his biographer  
& passed her  
classified  
documents)

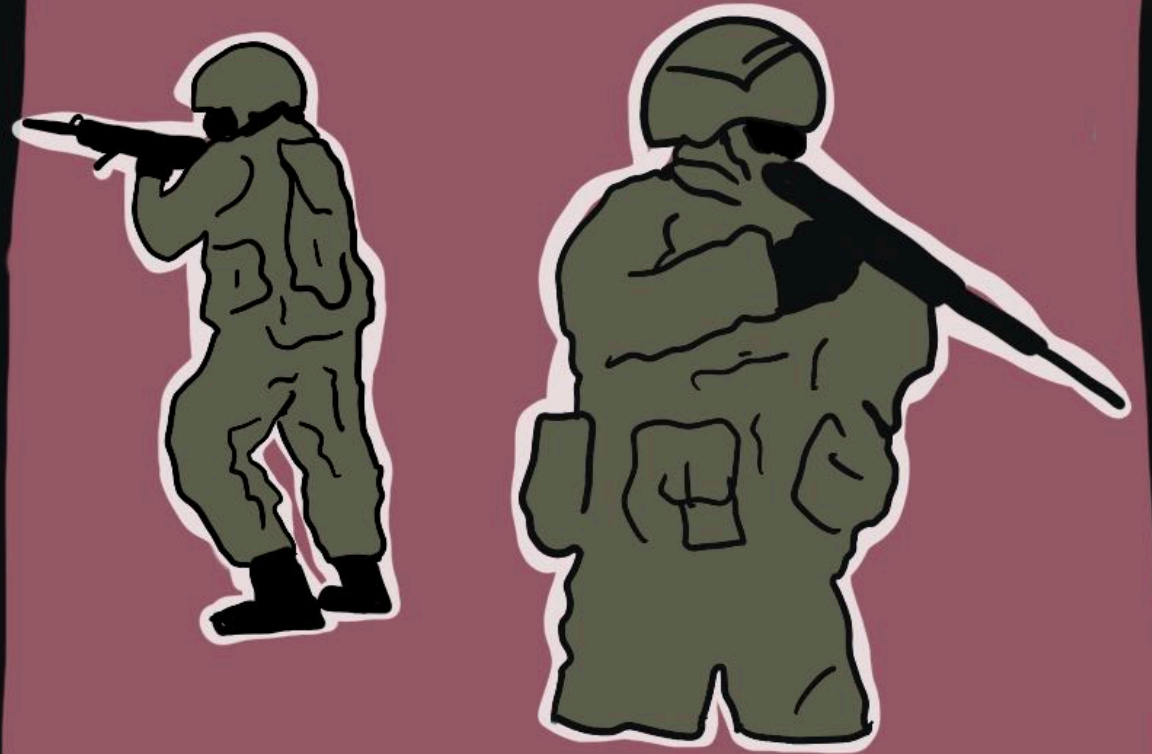
He wrote the field manual  
now used by the U.S. Army  
to quash insurgents.



Petraeus is linked to "police commando units in Iraq that set up secret detention and torture centres to get information from insurgents."



"These units conducted some of the worst acts of torture during the U.S. occupation and accelerated the country's descent into full-scale civil war." (The Guardian)



Petraeus later commanded all allied NATO forces in Afghanistan.



John Brewer, the RCMP's Chief Superintendent, was the C-IRG's Gold Commander until 2023. He served as NATO's senior police advisor to Afghanistan under Petraeus in 2010.

In 2021, C-IRG raided Gidimt'en territory under Brewer's leadership.



After Petraeus' CIA resignation, he published an op-ed in the Washington Post in 2013 — a vision of the massive potential of fracking in North America.

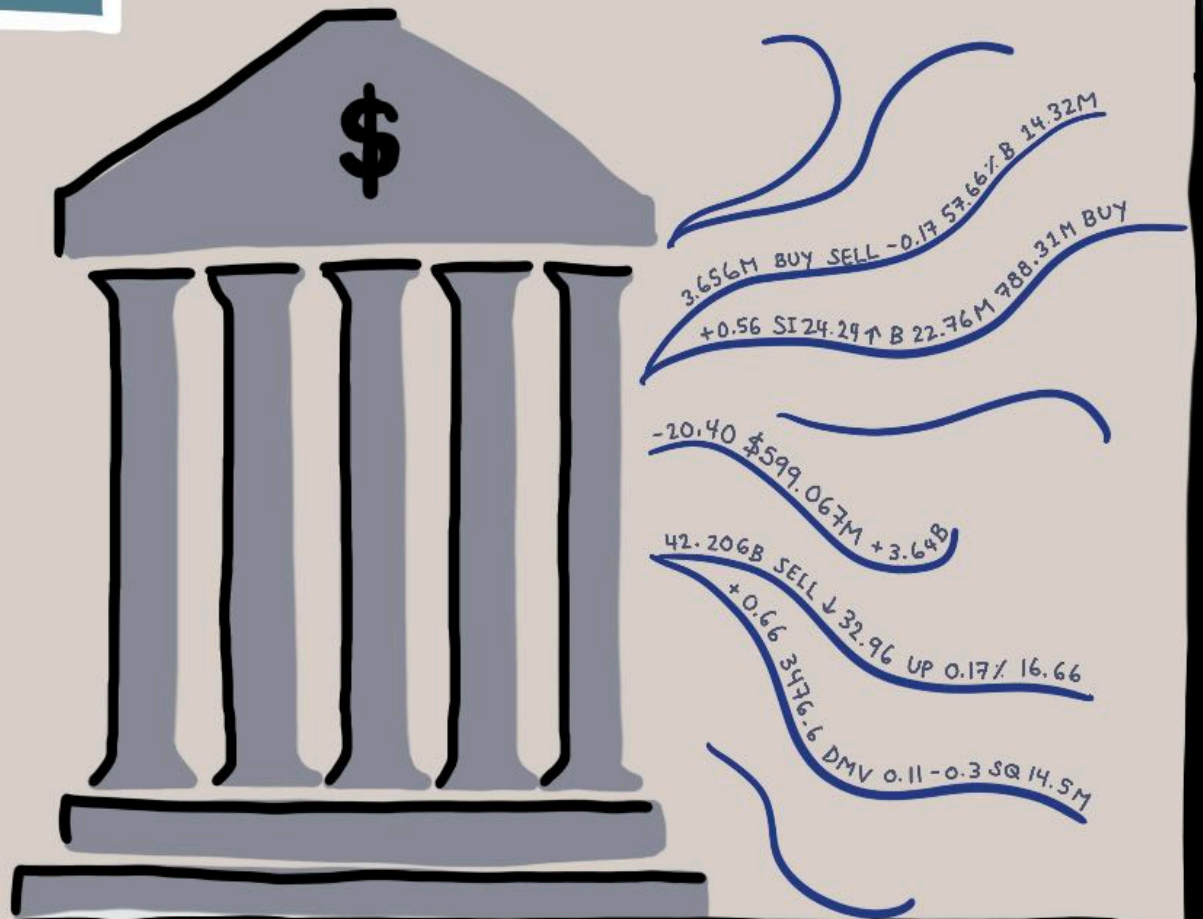
The next month, KKR hired him.



# WHAT is KKR ?



KKR (Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts, & Company) is a New York-based private equity firm.

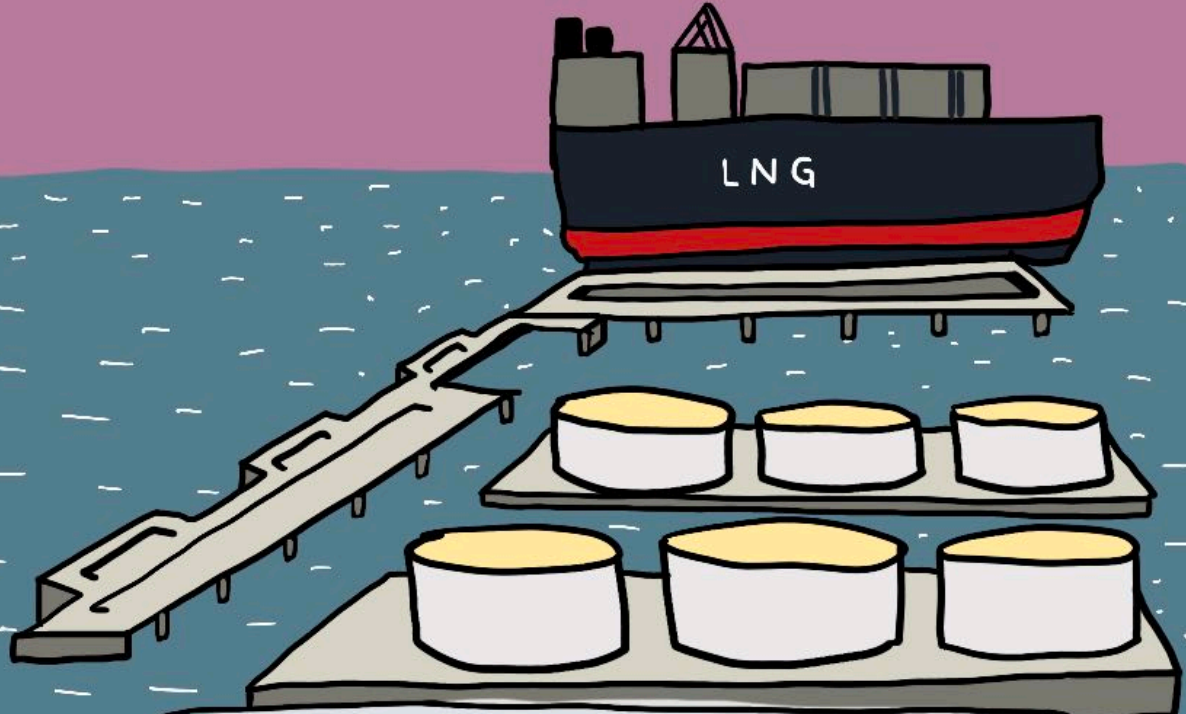


KKR is worth over \$500 billion USD. It buys companies across all sectors of the economy (fossil fuels, health care, publishing, real estate, retail)



Some of the companies KKR invests in...

-  Coastal Gaslink
-  Colonial Pipeline Company
-  **PEMBINA**



Pembina Pipeline Corporation merged its natural gas assets with KKR's in 2022, making KKR the Haisla Nation's partner on the proposed Cedar LNG terminal in Kitimat.



# KKR and Coastal GasLink

In 2012, LNG Canada (a joint venture company of 5 energy giants like Shell & PETRONAS) selected **TC Energy** to take on the CGL project.

RBC (Royal Bank of Canada) was the main initial funder of the pipeline, and now owns about 8.6% of TC Energy.



In 2019, facing opposition to Coastal GasLink from hereditary chiefs, TC Energy hired RBC as their financial advisor to help sell their majority stake in the pipeline.

So, in 2020, TC Energy sold a **65%** stake in CGL to KKR and AIMCo. (Alberta Investment Management Corporation)

This makes KKR the primary investor in CGL.



When KKR hired David Petraeus 10 years ago, he created the firm's internal C.I.A. — called the

# KKR Global Institute

(KGI)



KGI identifies risks, then works with companies in its portfolio to “neutralize” those risks.



“ I identify ways to reduce risks, so that we have the confidence to make investments. Once we've made the investments, we help the companies that we own as they run into problems.

And it's surprising actually how much you can help them with just sheer determination, boots on the ground, working with nation leaders...”

— DAVID PETRAEUS on a podcast in early 2023





Petraeus has been called "the world's leading expert in counter-insurgency warfare."

Ok but - **WHAT'S AN INSURGENCY?**

Petraeus' field manual says: "Elements of a population often grow dissatisfied with the status quo. When a population or groups in a population are willing to fight to change the conditions in their favour, using both violent and nonviolent means to affect a change in the prevailing authority, they often initiate an insurgency."

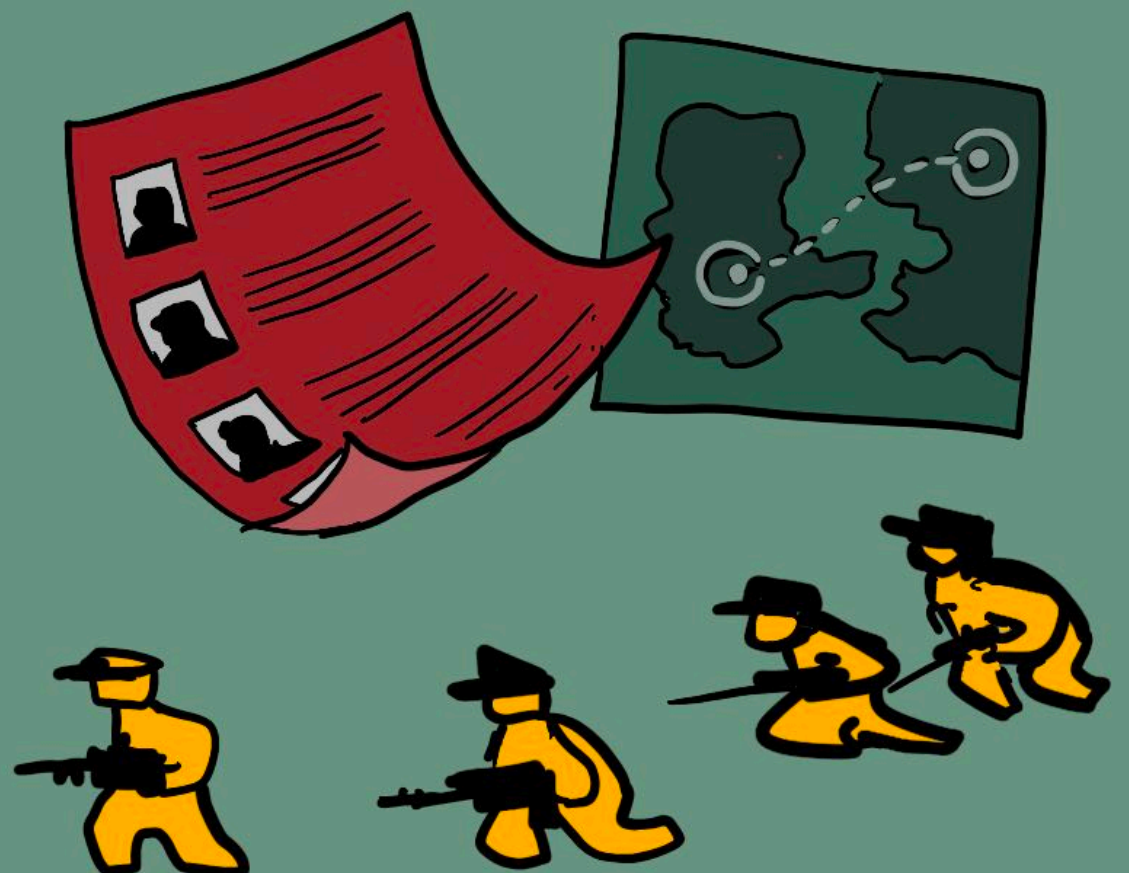


An *insurgency* is the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region."

### Counter-insurgency

is military or political action against revolutionaries.

From the U.S. Army's point of view, it involves "assisting the host-nation government in defeating the insurgents"



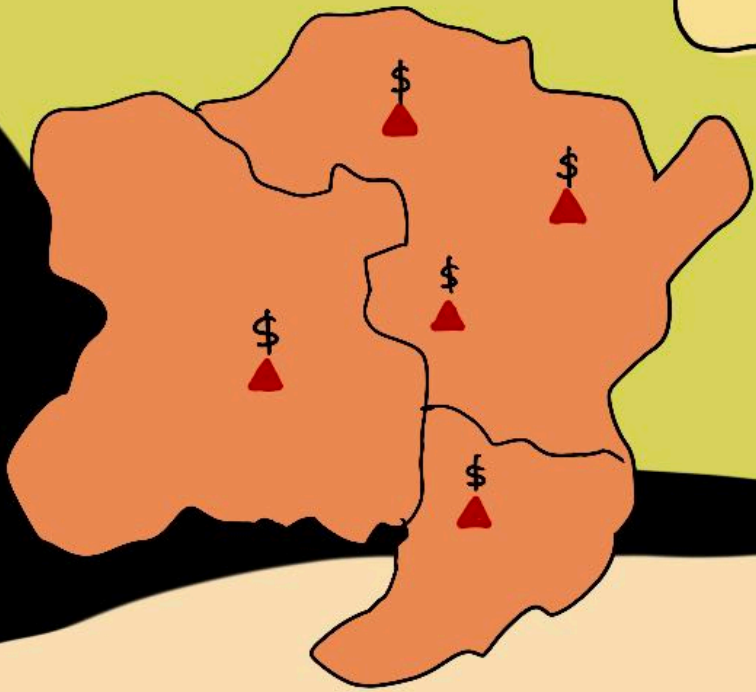


The tactics used to "reduce the risks" of investing in CGL mirror those in the counter-insurgency

# PETRAEUS PLAYBOOK

## PHASE 1: "RECONCILIATION"

ie. buying the consent of local nations to support foreign military invasion.



### FIELD MANUAL

"Without support from the various power brokers in an area of operation, military action is unlikely to gain support from the local population."

"MONEY IS AMMUNITION"

- David Petraeus



...bullets and money are interchangeable in achieving certain strategic goals.



Find out who the local chiefs/leaders are and offer them financial incentives they couldn't refuse.



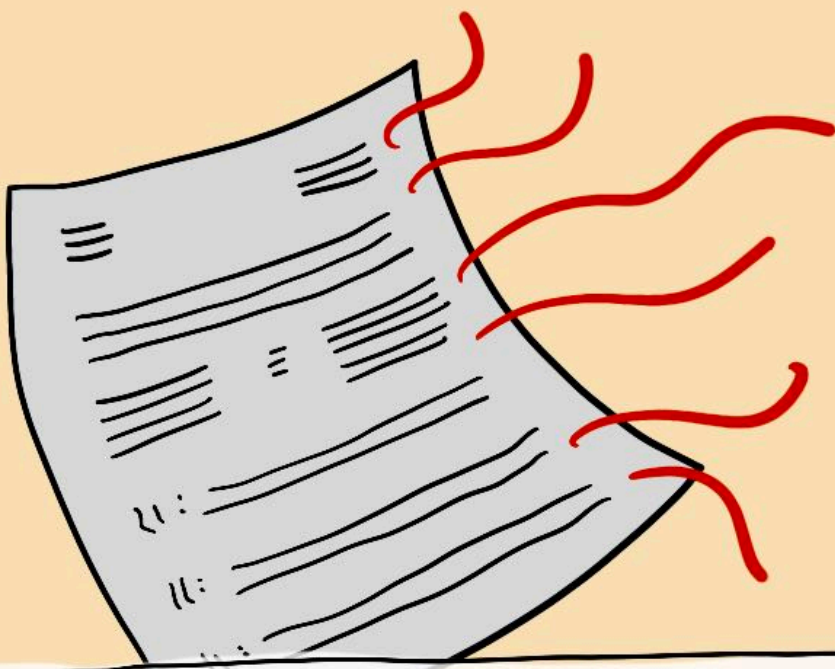
Money has been a major factor in maintaining support for CGL.



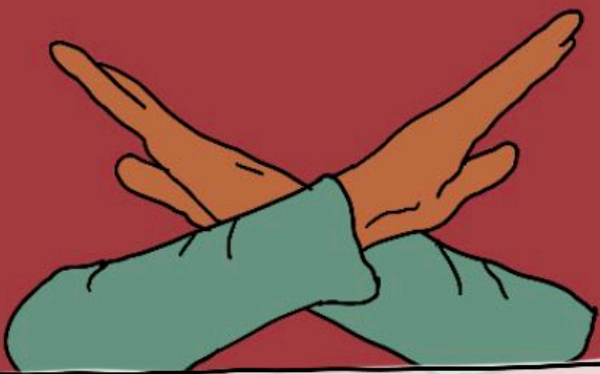
TC Energy & BC gov't spent millions to deepen divides within Indigenous communities even before KKR bought CGL.



CGL likes to say  
"We have agreements in place with every band council along the pipeline route."



But in 2020, a leaked unsigned agreement between a Wet'suwet'en First Nation and CGL showed that the band council is required to dissuade their own members from opposing the project or even criticizing it on social media.



When band members found out about the terms of the contract, 70% of them voted **NO** to CGL.



However, in line with the other 5 Wet'suwet'en bands, the band chief went ahead and signed anyway.



Petraeus calls tribal leaders who won't take money to support an invasion "irreconcilables"

## PHASE 2: LEGAL PREPARATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD

ie. laying the legal groundwork for violence



The manual says:

"Build trust and legitimacy by helping locals and the media understand the rules U.S. forces follow and the safeguards they apply in operations."



"Legal preparation of the battlefield can also help de-legitimize the insurgents, as locals and the media will better understand the insurgents' violation of the laws."

Sound familiar?

In "Canada," companies apply for court injunctions as a tool to clear people off their own land.



The RCMP are then called in to "uphold the law" and clear a pathway for industry.





If people refuse to recognize injunctions, they become targets for police and private security.

On Wet'suwet'en territory, private security hired by CGL (mainly retired police officers & ex-military personnel) took over intelligence-gathering and patrol duties from the RCMP and shared their data.\*



\*The RCMP denies this collaboration. BC's public safety minister agrees with them & calls this allegation "scandalous."



Forsythe's status as a private company makes them a shield between the RCMP & government, further restricting the public's access to information.



# PHASE 3 OF THE PETRAEUS PLAYBOOK: KINETIC OPERATIONS

ie. hiring local police for counter-insurgency operations

During the Iraq war, Petraeus had a problem: too many U.S. soldiers were dying, which caused political backlash at home — and atrocities committed by U.S. troops were fueling the insurgency.



New strategy?  
Make Iraqis do the fighting.



... Same strategy the U.S. later used in Afghanistan. They trained 300,000 Afghan police & military personnel to fight the American war.



Manual: "Success is more likely if the host nation recruits local personnel for its remote area paramilitary."



Local police know the area, & tend to have more credibility in community & media than a foreign army.

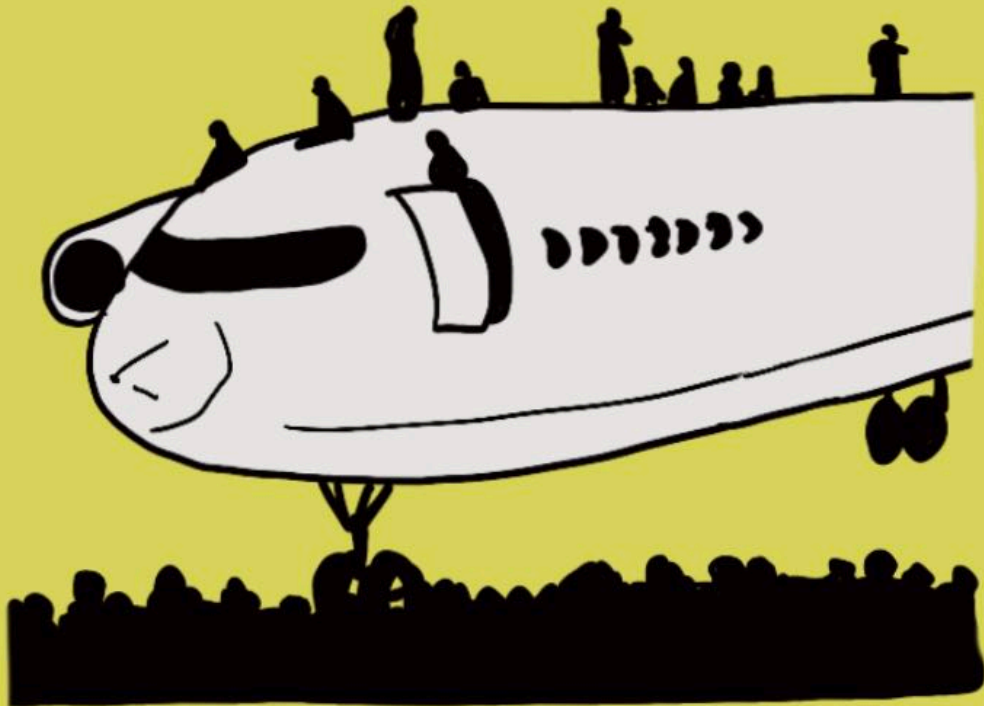


Our remote area paramilitary is the RCMP. They're not the masterminds — they're putting a local face on an international campaign.



# PHASE 4: WITHDRAWAL

ie. handing the war off to locally trained forces



The playbook doesn't always go as planned. After nearly 20 years & 3 trillion dollars, the US withdrew its troops from Afghanistan in 2021. The Taliban regained control in a matter of days.



"The military role should be coordinated with other instruments of national power that include diplomatic, informational, and economic parts."  
— counter-insurgency manual



The RCMP and private security are not the only tools KKR employs.



Construction of the Coastal GasLink pipeline is now almost complete. But the battle continues.





KKR has a notorious legacy.

Companies they own are responsible for a long list of toxic spills, deadly explosions, clashes with Indigenous communities...

KKR is an industry leader in bankruptcies, labour abuses, and environmental violations.



CGI has been issued over 50 warnings from the ministry of Environment & Climate change for their failure to protect sensitive waterways and wetlands during construction.

CGI has racked up over \$8 billion in cost overruns.







David Petraeus has helped bake counter-insurgency mindsets and operations into the U.S. (and Canada's) invasions abroad, at home in our police departments, and in the private sector.

However, let's not overstate the role of one man – these tactics have been in play on Wet'suwet'en territory for

# 150 YEARS.

They are part of the handbook of colonial domination – divide-and-conquer, media manipulation, genocide...



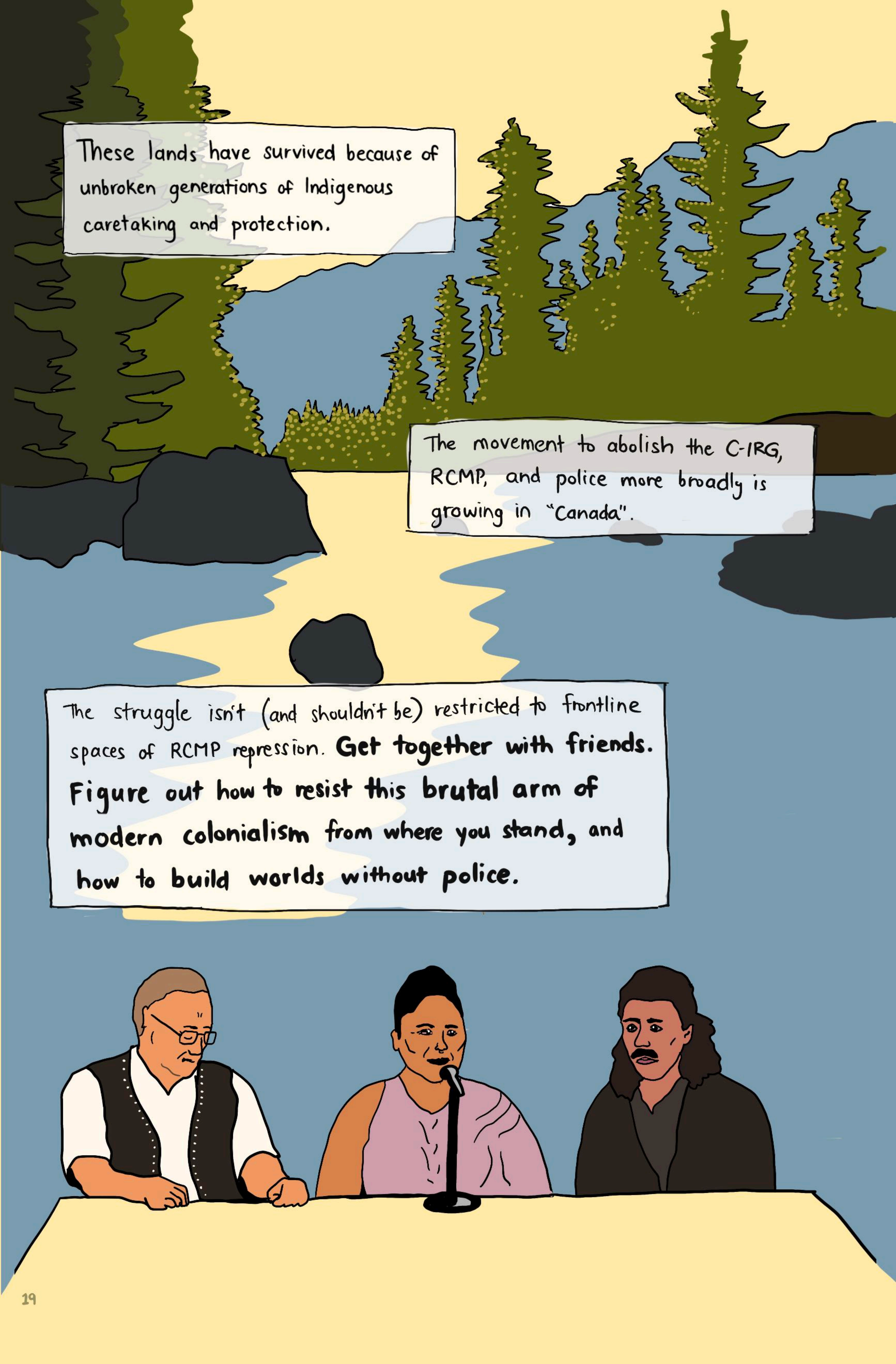
CHIEF NA'MOKS

"Although KKR may deploy CIA tactics on our lands and to our people, they will never succeed with their project."

We see more value in our lands, waters, and freedoms than what any amount of their money would ever be worth."

KKR is baffled by people who can't be bought off by money.





These lands have survived because of unbroken generations of Indigenous caretaking and protection.

The movement to abolish the C-IRG, RCMP, and police more broadly is growing in "Canada".

The struggle isn't (and shouldn't be) restricted to frontline spaces of RCMP repression. **Get together with friends. Figure out how to resist this brutal arm of modern colonialism from where you stand, and how to build worlds without police.**

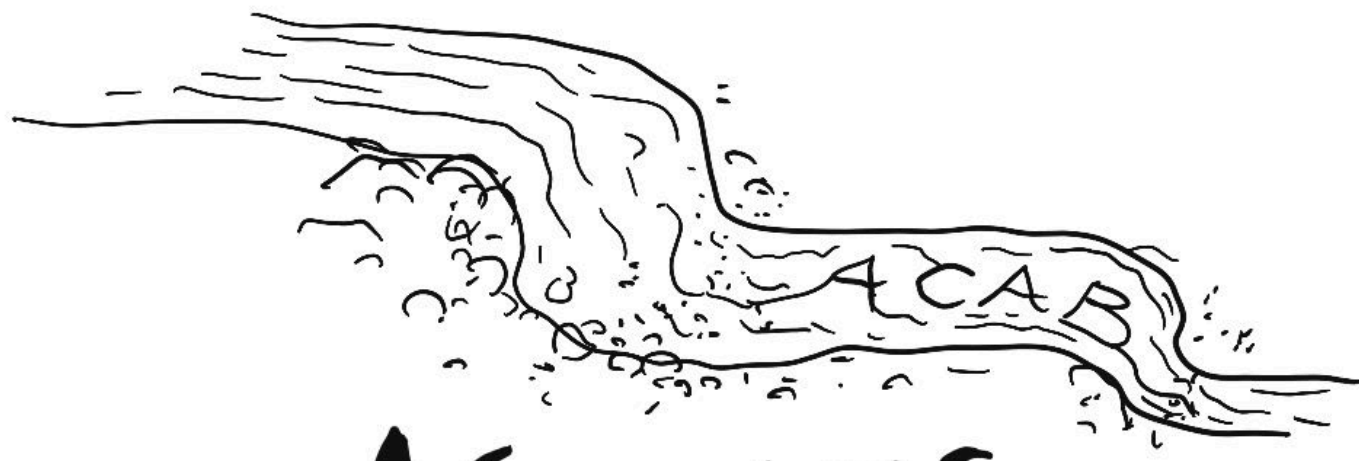




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# NOTES



